## Schools of the Prophets: An Early American Tradition

## Joseph F. Darowski

The most likely Method to stock the Church with a faithful Ministry, in the present Situation of Things, the publick Academies being so much corrupted and abused generally, is, To encourage private Schools, or Seminaries of Learning, which are under the Care of skilful and experienced Christians: in which those only should be admitted, who upon strict Examination, have in the Judgment of a reasonable Charity, the plain Evidences of experimental Religion. Pious and experienced Youths, who have a good natural Capacity, and great Desires after the Ministerial Work, from good Motives, might be sought for, and found up and down in the Country, and put to Private Schools of the Prophets; especially in such Places, where the Publick one are not.\(^1\)

## Gilbert Tennent

Early American Congregationalist and Presbyterian churches, vesting their expectations for a doctrinally and spiritually qualified clergy in Harvard (1636) and Yale (1701) colleges, acknowledged both as "schools of the prophets." By the 1740s, the intense revivalist spirit associated with the First Great Awakening fostered a suspicion that such institutions had drifted from their primary mission and were graduating "unconverted" clerics. This sparked the adoption of an alternative approach to ministerial training under the tutelage of reform-minded New Light and New Side clergymen which would lead to the establishment of private "schools of the prophets."

Beginning as early as 1742, this new generation of "schools of the prophets" began to assume the burden of preparing Congregational and Presbyterian divinity students for service in New England, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York. This New Light, New Side arrangement continued into the

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Top: Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1767, engraving by Paul Revere. Bottom: Original Yale College building (1718–1782), New Haven, Connecticut, 1807. Both Harvard (founded in 1636) and Yale (founded in 1701) were considered "schools of the prophets" because of the emphasis the institutions placed on the study of theology, Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and the Old and New Testaments.

early nineteenth century when various denominations established seminaries for the training of their ministerial candidates.

At Kirtland, Ohio in 1833, Joseph Smith gathered together a group of the first elders of the Church of Christ for instruction. The meetings bore the designation "school of the prophets." This assemblage mirrored several features associated with the earlier Protestant regimen, especially in regard to purpose and curriculum. At the same time, it included elements foreign to Protestant precedents.

For the purposes of this brief, preliminary survey, the development of Congregationalist and Presbyterian "schools of the prophets" associated with the late Colonial and early Republic periods will be reviewed in terms of their contemporary rationale, curriculum, and cultural implications. Similarly, Joseph Smith's 1833 Kirtland "School of the Prophets" will be assessed from the perspective of the early Latter-day Saints. Though I do not explicitly suggest that the Kirtland School of the Prophets was a direct descendant or a conscious derivative of the earlier tradition, apparent parallels and possible influences will be considered. It is anticipated that this exercise will shed additional light on some of the broader ecclesiastical and cultural patterns evident in an emerging Latter-day Saint tradition.

To begin, reference to the establishment of a school for ministers first appears in the Bible. The Old Testament prophet Samuel is reputed to have educated and trained a group of apprentices known as the "the sons of the prophets." Elijah and Elisha are reported to have continued the tradition (see 1 Samuel 10:11; 19:19–20; 2 Kings 2:3, 5; 4:38; 6:1). John M. Bradford, in an 1813 address to the Board of Superintendents of the Theological School of the Reformed Dutch Church in New Brunswick, New Jersey, observed: "We perceive . . . from various parts of the scriptures, that there were . . . whole colleges, or schools of persons, who were collected and educated for the service of God. The sons of the prophets . . . were young men of reputed piety and talents who were collected and put under the instruction and discipline of eminently wise and holy men, that they might be fitted for the service of God in his church." He added, "The origin of these prophetical institutions is not distinctly and clearly exhibited in the scriptures. They are ascribed with a great degree of probability to Samuel, as their founder and president."

Harkening back to this Old Testament precedent, it became something of a standard metaphor in Protestant circles to refer to colleges established for training in divinity as "schools of the prophets." One historian researching the origins of Yale University explains: "The term . . . was a stock rhetorical expression used by preachers to relate the college enterprise to the immemorial and half-mythic educational concerns of God's chosen people." In the sense used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the term *prophet* referred more particularly to a clerical teacher of the gospel rather than the head of a dispensation or a seer. To an extent, a "school of the prophets" was in many respects simply the functional equivalent of a seminary, theological academy, or school of divinity.

The New England Puritans were quite prominent among the various communities of believers who saw themselves as "God's chosen people." When established in 1636, Harvard College's primary concerned was the proper education of Congregationalist ministers. In 1643, the Reverend Thomas

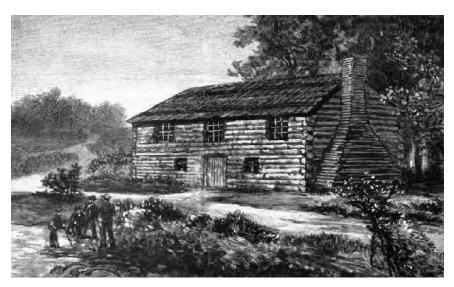
Shepard wrote: "After God carried us safe to New-England, and wee had builded our houses, provided for the necessaries for our lively-hood, rear'd convenient places for Gods worship, and settled the Civill Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance Learning, and perpetuate it to Posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate Ministery to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the dust." The operating assumption was that the inculcation of knowledge of things both divine and mundane, of God and of the world, was essential to that task. Harvard's initial curriculum included logic, physics, ethics, politics, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, grammar, poetry, composition, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and the Old and New Testament.

In 1644, Shepard addressed a petition to the commissioners of the united colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven seeking additional funding for Harvard College. It began, "May it please you . . . to take into your consideration some way of comfortable maintenance for that school of the prophets that now is." Richard Warch's history of Yale notes the college's "principle purpose was to train orthodox men in general and orthodox ministers in particular. . . . All these factors point to the religious nature of early Yale, and the oft-repeated designation of the college as the School of the Prophets was a clear allusion to this fact."



Gilbert Tennent, eighteenth-century Presbyterian minister, date unknown, painting attributed to Gustavus Hesselius. Image courtesy Princeton University.

Yale and Harvard stood in their exalted station, esteemed as "schools of the prophets," until the advent of Jonathan Edwards, George Whitefield, Gilbert Tennent, Samuel Hopkins, Joseph Bellamy, and other paragons of the Great Awakening. To be sure, even before the Awakening stirred doubts concerning those colleges, alternative avenues for admission to the ministry had emerged on the colonial frontier. Of particular note was William Tennent's backyard seminary in Pennsylvania, organized in 1726. Tennent, a Presbyterian, endeavored to prepare candidates not only in doctrine and the liberal arts but in piety as well. To accommodate his handful of students, he built a small log structure behind his home to serve as a dormitory and study hall. It was derided by critics as being but a crude "Log College."



Gilbert Tennent built a log structure, known as the "Log College," to instruct students in Christian theology, piety, and the liberal arts. George Whitefield wrote that Tennent's college "resembled the school of the old prophets." Whitefield also noted that the Log College was about twenty-by-eighteen feet. The illustration pictured above was published in Thomas Murphy, *The Presbytery of the Log College; or, The Cradle of the Presbyterian Church in America* (1889) and was based on a now-lost earlier sketch. Princeton University is an institutional progeny of Tennent's Log College.

Conversely, as prominent a New Light revivalist as George Whitefield praised Tennent's humble log college in his journal. He wrote, it "seemed to resemble the school of the old prophets." Regardless, Tennent's work laid the foundation for what would eventually be christened Princeton University.

Tennent's concern for ministerial training, which extended beyond mere scholastic preparation, was later seconded during the Great Awakening by Congregational and Presbyterian revivalists. They attacked the existing system for its lack of emphasis on piety and experiential conversion. In the turmoil of those times, both Harvard and Yale came under scrutiny and were found wanting.

In 1741, George Whitefield rebuked the colleges, commenting that "Light is become Darkness, Darkness that may be felt, and is complained of by the most godly ministers." Others, including Jonathan Edwards, suggested that Harvard and Yale produced "light but no heat," knowledge but not piety. Edwards scathingly reproved Harvard in particular in a 1742 treatise on religious revivalism: "It seems to me to be a Reproach to the Land, that ever it should be so with our Colleges, that instead of being Places of the greatest Advantages for true Piety, one can't send a Child thither, without great Danger to

his being infected, as to his Morals; as it has certainly, sometimes been with these Societies: . . . To have 'em Places of so much Infection, is the greatest Nonsense and Absurdity imaginable." Concluding his denunciation, Edwards chided, "It has been common in our publick Prayers, to call these Societies, the Schools of the Prophets; and if they are Schools, to train up young Men to be *Prophets*, certainly there ought to be extraordinary Care there taken, to train 'em up to be Christians."12

An early experiment in alternative ministerial education was launched in New London, Connecticut in 1742. At heart, the Shepherd's Tent was a response to the Great Awakening concern with what Gilbert Tennent referred to as the "danger of an unconverted ministry." Though the

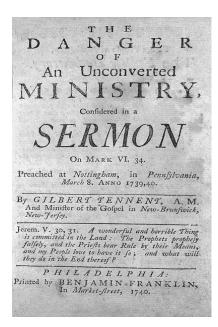


George Whitefield by John Greenwood, after Nathaniel Hone, 1769. Whitefield stood among those ministers who found Harvard and Yale inadequate in respect to ministerial preparation. Image courtesy National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.

Shepherd's Tent quickly folded as a consequence of its radical stand regarding personal revelation, it was something of a harbinger of things to come.<sup>13</sup>

As New Light adherents wrestled with such issues as piety and conversion, a compromise of sorts emerged. Attendance at Harvard and Yale was acceptable training for the ministry as far as it went. But to complete one's preparation properly, a post-baccalaureate apprenticeship under the direction of a sympathetic and converted New Light minister was deemed requisite. Joseph Bellamy, who apprenticed under Jonathan Edwards, established his own New Light "log college" in Bethlehem, Connecticut, for just such a purpose. 14

By the 1760s, a very conservative faction emerged within the New Light movement, far more passionate in regard to piety and conversion then the existing mainstream. Backed by Edwards' students Samuel Hopkins, Joseph Bellamy, and others, New Divinity "schools of the prophets" became the norm on the New England and mid-Atlantic frontiers.<sup>15</sup>



Title page, Gilbert Tennent, *The Danger of An Unconverted Ministry* (Philadelphia: Printed by Benjamin Franklin, 1740). Image courtesy Library of Congress.

At such centers, training was broadly based on the Socratic Method. Ouestions were submitted to students who drew upon the scriptures and available doctrinal commentaries to compose well-reasoned responses or dissertations. Time was available for daily discussions and presentations. All the while, the sponsoring clergyman provided meals and lodging and work opportunities. Under such a regimen, preparation for a licensing examination could be completed in a few months or last for several years. Throughout, there was an emphasis on experiential conversion, piety, and general knowledge of the ancient languages, scriptures, and doctrines.16

One scholar estimates that over five-hundred ministers passed through New Light and New Divinity "schools of the prophets" over a seventy-five-year period from 1750–1825. Eventu-

ally, these informal classes were replaced by formally established seminaries or academies. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, institutions such as Andover Theological Seminary in Massachusetts and Auburn Theological Seminary in New York still bore the sobriquet "school of the prophets." <sup>17</sup>

During the seventy-five year reign of the frontier schools, several clergymen guided large numbers of apprentices through their programs. Nathanael Emmons (1745–1840) of Franklin, Massachusetts, instructed ninety students. Joseph Bellamy (1719–1790) saw sixty students attend his "log college" in Bethlehem, Connecticut. From 1779 until 1816, Asa Burton (1752–1836) apprenticed sixty aspirants while he labored in Thetford, Vermont, about twelve miles east of Sharon.<sup>18</sup>

Asa Burton was among the last to sponsor a private New Divinity school of the prophets. A graduate of Dartmouth, Burton was invited to be the minister in residence at Topsfield, Massachusetts, in 1778. Declining that post, he later preached at Windsor and Royalton, Vermont, before accepting an appointment at Thetford in 1779. Aside from conducting his school of the prophets for over thirty-six years, he held meetings in private homes and in barns,

served missions, and held periodic revivals in neighboring communities. He was particularly noted for his service among the youth of the region.<sup>19</sup>

As frontier teachers like Burton faded from the scene and seminaries came to the fore, there was little need among the more established American denominations for the relatively unstructured backyard schools of the prophets of the past.<sup>20</sup> Not so within the ranks of the Mormons. Late in 1832, Joseph Smith shared a revelation summoning the first elders of the young Church to attend a "school of the prophets" in Kirtland, Ohio (see D&C 88:77–80, 122–141).

Those Mormon elders called to gather likely had a fair idea of what this implied given their predominantly New England and New York cultural backgrounds. A school of the prophets was simply a place of education for those preparing to be ministers of the gospel. There, elements of a basic liberal education, such as math, grammar, astronomy, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, were to be combined with training in divinity and doctrine.

Though there may not be an express bridge linking Congregationalists and Presbyterians to Joseph Smith's Kirtland School, one still clearly feels something of a connection there. Nevertheless, the more intriguing questions surrounding the 1833 convocation revolve less around its rhetorical heritage than its repurposed ecclesiastical implications.



"School of the Prophets" room, situated in the northeast corner on the second floor of the Newel K. Whitney store, Kirtland, Ohio. The first session of the Kirtland School of the Prophets was held here from January–April 1833. Photograph by Alexander L. Baugh, May 2003.

Given Joseph Smith's commitment to the establishment of a Zion community or society, a school of the prophets offered opportunities beyond basic ministerial instruction. When amplifying and modifying conventional cultural motifs, Joseph Smith often drew upon personal experience, scriptural precedents, and spiritual inspiration. Among the models and patterns available to him was that of the city of Enoch—Zion. Though the Bible contained little information on the subject, Joseph's translation of passages from the Book of Moses, available by late 1830, was suggestive. Here was an account of a people who had achieved such unity and spirituality that they walked with God. From an eschatological perspective, the establishment of a Zion society seemed to be a prerequisite to the Second Coming. Consequently, for the rest of his life, Joseph Smith became preoccupied with a quest to establish Zion among the Saints.

Zion was defined in a few short verses in the Book of Moses: "And the Lord called his people Zion, because they were of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there was no poor among them. . . . And Enoch and his people walked with God, and he dwelt in the midst of Zion" (Moses 7:18, 69). The essence of a Zion society was equality before the Lord achieved through spiritual, intellectual, social, and economic unity, and leavened by charity. In Joseph Smith's vision, such a community sought after truth wherever it was to be found, offered friendship to all, and provided temporal and spiritual relief to the poor and needy.

Joseph Smith recognized that he had neither the authority nor resources to ignore, supplant, or evade the temporal realities of his time and place. Instead, he reordered, repurposed, or turned the institutions, conventions, practices, and material means of his day toward gospel aims. This can readily be seen in his attempts to establish significant educational opportunities among the Saints. He organized a succession of increasingly inclusive schools—the School of the Prophets, School of the Elders, the Hebrew School, the Kirtland High School, and the university at Nauvoo. In doing so he sought to achieve a degree of temporal and spiritual equality among the Saints, thereby moving them a step closer toward the unity requisite for a Zion society. The one consistent element linking all of Joseph Smith's temporal and spiritual innovations was a focus on the desired end—unity—rather than the relative success or failure of a particular means.

Motivation aside, there certainly appear to be strong outward parallels between the Kirtland School and earlier traditions. The name, the ostensible purpose, and the basic curriculum all align. The 1832 commandment authorizing a school of the prophets did not provide many specifics. It did not need to if the Saints already had a fundamental understanding of the typical course of study for a minister of the gospel.

Other aspects hearken back to New Divinity concerns with piety and conversion. Such practices as the donning of clean clothing and the abandonment of tobacco and alcohol can be seen as outward evidences of piety, the assumption of a godly walk or demeanor. Pentecostal outpourings parallel New Light emphasis on experiential conversion. The 1834 "Lectures on Faith" offered something of a systematic discussion of things divine. When, in 1835, the Lectures were coupled with one hundred "Covenants and Commandments" representing the order and doctrine of the church, a fairly concise course in divinity, theology, and church government was assembled.<sup>21</sup>

Yet there are strong elements of departure. For every hint of an echo, the Kirtland School of the Prophets also offered a new note as well. Joseph Smith incorporated priesthood offices, preparatory or initiatory ordinances, sacramental observances, and covenantal greetings, all leading to a potentially theophanic endowment of power from on high.

The Kirtland academy diverged in yet another significant respect. Though William Tennent's Log College was remembered and even imitated by New Light and New Divinity ministers, no particular or peculiar structure or place of worship was considered essential. A crude log cabin or a minister's parsonage would serve adequately as both a dormitory and study hall. Not so in Kirtland among the Latter-day Saints. One of the first orders of business after the school was established was the erection of a dedicated meeting house. Not any structure would do. A frame house and a log house were suggested, but it was the Kirtland "House of the Lord" or temple that was built, perhaps the most expensive and lavishly appointed structure in the region (see D&C 88: 119–120; 95: 1–4, 8, 11–17): and a similar injunction was given regarding a school in Missouri (see D&C 97:10–17).

This was a significant deviation from the Congregationalist and Presbyterian custom. Like so much else in the early Mormon experience, conventional means would be applied to achieve extraordinary ends. In this instance, a school house and meeting hall or chapel would become a supernal sacred space.

In practice, the Kirtland House of the Lord was understood to be so vital that ordinances associated with the first Kirtland School of the Prophets were dispensed with until the edifice was completed. An Elders School was held in 1834 and 1835 instead. As the House neared completion in October 1835, it is evident Joseph Smith anticipated a resumption of a more formal School of the Prophets. However, the House of the Lord continued to suffer construction delays, and by early 1836 the focus now fixed on preparation for a long-anticipated solemn assembly and endowment of power preparatory to the redemption of Zion. Apparently after 1836, no formal "School of the Prophets" was convened during the remainder of Joseph Smith's life.



"House of the Lord," Kirtland, Ohio. After convening the Kirtland School of the Prophets in 1833, efforts were soon underway to construct a suitable meeting place. The envisioned structure was to be known as the "House of the Lord." It was to serve as "a place of thanksgiving for all saints," and as "a place of instruction for all those . . . called to the work of the ministry" (D&C 97:13). Photograph courtesy Alexander L. Baugh, May 2003.

In the final assessment, the Kirtland School of the Prophets at least superficially reflected its contemporary cultural subtext. In this respect, it suggested that a minister of the gospel possess a knowledge of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, mathematics, astronomy, physics, and geography, as well as be familiar with the scriptures and established doctrine; that piety and experiential conversion ought to be valued; that deportment mattered as much as knowledge; and that a house of learning was by its very nature a house apart, whether it be Harvard or Yale, a log college, backyard seminary, or a frontier temple.

Joseph Smith's School of the Prophets incorporated all these elements and yet fundamentally altered them. In the early Mormon tradition, preparation to preach and teach the restored gospel required more than was offered by the dominant society. Joseph Smith sought to take the first elders beyond common notions of piety, divinity, and scholastic achievement. He pursued not just knowledge coupled with conversion, but a literal, transformational endowment of power from on high.

Thus, under Joseph Smith's tutelage—as in so many other things—the early Saints sought to refine and elevate the conventions of their time and place far beyond existing precedents in terms of temporal and spiritual expectations. The end result was not an Old Testament School of the Prophets

or a Congregationalist New England New Light, New Divinity School of the Prophets or a Presbyterian New Side Log College. It was a Latter-day Saint School of the Prophets geared to the preparation of first elders who were to build up a Zion society. It was to do so by imbuing chosen elders with a sense of confidence and certainty through the sublime experience of a Pentecostal endowment.

Thus, despite the apparent parallels, precedents, and antecedents in both name and discipline, the 1833 School of the Prophets was ultimately an expression of Joseph Smith's spirit of innovation and refinement. In that respect, it reflected his commitment to the turning of the conventions and material realities of time and place to restorationist gospel purposes. It was something more than the repurposing and refining of New Light, New Divinity models and patterns, it was the opening of a new door. Like so much that was a part of the early church and Joseph Smith himself, the Kirtland School of Prophets was more about beginnings and possibilities than conclusions and absolutes. In this light it can be said that the early American tradition of vesting the preparation of ministers of the gospel in schools of the prophets bore unanticipated new fruit amid the first elders of Kirtland, Ohio.

## **Notes**

- 1. Gilbert Tennent, "The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry, Considered in a Sermon on Mark VI. 34" (2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1741; reprinted Boston, 1742) in Alan Heimer and Perry Miller, eds., *The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and Its Consequences* (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1967), 85.
- 2. Broadly speaking, New Light ministers favored revivalism within the New England Congregationalist tradition as did New Side ministers among the Presbyterians.
- 3. John M. Bradford, *The Schools of the Prophets: A Sermon* (Albany, New York: Green & Co., 1813), 6–7.
- 4. Richard Warch, *School of the Prophets, Yale College, 1701–1740* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), 279.
  - 5. Thomas Shepard, New England's First Fruits (London, 1643), 1.
- 6. Moses Coit Tyler, *A History of American Literature: 1, 1607–1676* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1949), Part IV, 307–08. See also Samuel Willard, *Brief Directions to a Young Scholar* (Boston, 1735).
- 7. Thomas Shepard, *The Works of Thomas Shepard* (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, 1853), 104. See also *Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England*, 1643-1679, Vol. 1.
- 8. Warch, School of the Prophets, 278–79. See also Phineas Fiske, The Good Subject's Wish or, The Desireableness of the Divine Presence with Civil Rulers (London, 1726).
- 9. Joseph A. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Christian University Press, 1981), 33. See also Archibald Alexander, ed., *Biographical Sketches of the Founder and Principal Alumni of the Log College* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1851); and Thomas Murphy, *The Presbytery*

- of the Log College; or, The Cradle of the Presbyterian Church in America (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath School Work, 1889).
- 10. George Whitefield, Journal, 1741, quoted in Conforti, Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement, 33.
- 11. David W. Kling, "New Divinity Schools of the Prophets, 1750–1825: A Case Study in Ministerial Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (Summer 1997), 190.
- 12. Jonathan Edwards, Some Thoughts Concerning the present Revival of Religion in New England, And the Way in which it ought to be acknowledged and promoted, Humbly offered to the Publick, in a Treatise on that Subject (Boston, 1742), 350–52.
- 13. See Richard Warch, "The Shepherd's Tent: Education and Enthusiasm in the Great Awakening," *American Quarterly* 30, no. 2 (Summer 1978): 177–98. See also Tennent, "Danger of an Unconverted Ministry."
- 14. Conforti, Samuel Hopkins, 35. See also Mary Latimer Gambrell, Ministerial Training in Eighteenth-Century New England (New York: Ames Press, 1967), 101–41.
  - 15. Kling, "New Divinity Schools of the Prophets, 1750–1825," 192–96.
- 16. See David W. Kling, "New Divinity Schools of the Prophets," in D. G. Hart and R. Albert Mohler Jr., eds., *Theological Education in the Evangelical Tradition* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Books, 1996), 129–47. See also Gambrell, *Ministerial Training in Eighteenth-Century New England*, 128–141.
  - 17. Kling, "New Divinity Schools of the Prophets, 1750–1825," 187, 194, 204–05.
  - 18. Kling, "New Divinity Schools of the Prophets, 1750–1825," 195.
- 19. See Thomas Adams, "Memoir of the Rev. Asa Burton, D.D., Thetford, Vt.," *American Quarterly Register* 10, no. 4 (May 1838): 321–41.
- 20. Anglicans continued to make reference to schools of the prophets in relation to ministerial training at least into the 1890s. See Arthur Kent Chignell, *Twenty One Years in Papua: A History of the English Church Mission in New Guinea* (1891–1911) (Milwaukee: The Young Churchman, 1913). It may also be of note that an Episcopal bishop, Philander Chase, founder of Kenyon College at Gambier Hill, Ohio, in 1824 and Jubilee College near present-day Peoria, Illinois, in 1838, referred to both institutions as "schools of the prophets." See "Memoir of Bishop Chase," *Church of England Magazine* 8 (January-June 1840), 251–52. Among the illustrious attendees of "Schools of the Prophets" that were sponsored by one denomination or another were Edward Irving, one of the founders of the Catholic Apostolic Church (also known as the Irvingites), and Benjamin Rush, prominent physician, patriot, and signer of the Declaration of Independence.
  - 21. See the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants.
- 22. Joseph Smith, Journal, October 5, 1835, in Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989-1992), 2:47–48; also in Joseph Smith, *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed., B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev. 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 2:287.